

Message Text

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TOSEC 426, ZFF LONDON ONLY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: SENATOR JACKSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE, JULY 8

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ARE KEY EXCERPTS FROM JACKSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE, LASTING ABOUT FIFTY MINUTES. QUESTIONS COVERED CHINA, MOSCOW SUMMIT, SALT, AND FULBRIGHT. END SUMMARY.

1. JACKSON: I WOULD LIKE TO JUST MENTION TWO OR THREE IMPRESSIONS THAT STAND OUT IN MY MIND.

FIRST, IS THAT WHERE EVER I TRAVELED, AND TRAVELING WAS LIMITED, BUT IN TALKING TO THE LEADERS, THE REAL POLICY-MAKERS IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY AREA, I SENSED A DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE THAT I HAD NOT EXPECTED IN THEIR ABILITY TO HANDLE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. THERE WAS A REAL SENSE OF SELF-

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CONFIDENCE AS FAR AS THE SOVIET THREAT IS CONCERNED.

AND SECONDLY, WE WERE ABLE TO IDENTIFY A NUMBER OF AREAS

OF PARALLEL INTERESTS --

FIRST, OF COURSE, NATO. IT'S RATHER HARD FOR MOST AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND, AND EVEN SCHOLARS, OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, OF THE STRONG IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRC WITH A STRONG NATO. THEY FEEL VERY DEEPLY THAT THE SECURITY OF THEIR OWN AREA, OF COURSE, IS INDIRECTLY

AFFECTED BY WHAT HAPPENS IN THE EUROPEAN AREAS. THEY BELIEVE THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME THE SOVIET UNION IS MAKING A FEINT TOWARDS THE EAST (MEANING THEM) BUT THAT THEIR REAL OBJECTIVE AT THIS POINT IN HISTORY IS WESTERN EUROPE.

THIS, INDEED, IS A NEW DEVELOPMENT ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THEY ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE SUBCONTINENT, PAKISTAN, PERSIA-- THAT WHOLE AREA.

AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE MUST, AT THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY WHERE THE GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS HAVE BROUGHT OUR TWO COUNTRIES CLOSER TOGETHER AND AS A RESULT, TRY TO BUILD A WEB OF RELATIONS WHICH WILL PROMOTE PEACE--ESPECIALLY AS CHINA MOVES TO BECOME A GREAT NUCLEAR AND INDUSTRIAL POWER.

I FEEL THAT WE MUST MOVE FASTER TOWARDS A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND OUR OWN GOVERNMENT. THIS IS IN OUR OWN SELF-INTEREST AND I THINK IT'S IN THE SELF-INTEREST OF CHINA AT THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY--AND ABOVE ALL ELSE, IT'S IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE.

Q WILL A "MOST FAVORED NATION" AGREEMENT BE WORKED OUT WITH THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA?

A WELL, YOU WILL BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING THAT I'M ORT OF MR. "MFN" YOU KNOW, AT TIMES. BUT THEY NEVER RAISED UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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THE QUESTION WITH ME. NOT ONCE. AND THE CHINESE HAVE A GENIUS FOR ASKING PENETRATING QUESTIONS.

I SEE NO REAL PROBLEM IN WORKING OUT AN MFN AGREEMENT WITH CHINA. THEY ARE NOT AT THAT POINT NOW WHERE THEY ARE PUSHING MFN. THE CHINESE WILL MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION. IT'S MY JUDGMENT THAT THAT PROBLEM WILL BE RESOLVED WITHOUT SERIOUS TROUBLE.

Q DO YOU FEEL THAT THEY PERMIT FREE IMMIGRATION FROM CHINA?

A NO, THEY DO NOT.

I THINK THAT THE AREA THAT MUST BE DEALT WITH AT THIS TIME--
AND IT IS A LIMITED AREA IN TERMS OF NUMBERS BUT I THINK

IT RAISES A VERY PROPER HUMANITARIAN QUESTION--AND THAT IS
UNITING FAMILIES. AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CASES NOW,
WHERE PART OF THE CHINESE FAMILY IS IN THE UNITED STATES,
OR HONG KONG, AND PART ARE IN THE CHINESE MAINLAND.

Q HOW MANY DO YOU HAVE THERE?

A WE DON'T HAVE THOSE NUMBERS, BUT THEY ARE NOT LARGE. I
THINK THE TOTAL REQUESTS THAT ARE ON THE BOOKS ARE ABOUT
EIGHTY. THEY ARE NOT LARGE. BUT I SUSPECT THAT ONCE MOVE-
MENT IS OBTAINED IN THIS AREA--I HAVE SOME OF THESE CASES--
I BELIEVE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO WORK THEM OUT THAT THERE
WILL BE A LOT MORE THAN EIGHTY.

Q ARE THERE NOT LARGE NUMBERS OF OTHERS--OTHER CHINESE,
WHO WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE CHINA, OF THAT CATEGORY?

A WELL, I SUSPECT THAT THERE ARE. BUT THE PROBLEM WOULD
BE IN DEALING WITH THE CHINESE SITUATION IS--WHAT COUN-
TRIES WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE NUMBERS THAT ARE INVOLVED?
AND A CONDITION PRECEDENT TO THAT SOLUTION WOULD INVOLVE THE
COUNTRIES THAT WOULD BE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE LARGE NUMBERS
OF IMMIGRANTS.

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Q SIR, I GET THE GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT (THE PRC) IS A
"GOOD COMMUNIST." IS THAT RIGHT?

A NO, I'M NOT PASSING ON THE "GOODNESS" AS WE WOULD VIEW
A SOCIETY INTERNALLY.

WHAT I HAVE SUGGESTED HERE, IS THAT THERE ARE MANY AREAS
WHERE OUR INTERESTS ARE PARALLEL--THAT THE CHINESE RECOG-
NIZE THAT IF WESTERN EUROPE IS WEAKENED, IF THE WEST FLANK
IS WEAKENED--THEN THE SOVIET UNION, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN TURN
THEIR TOTAL ATTENTION TO THE EASTERN FLANK.

THIS IS WHAT I AM SUGGESTING, IN PART: THAT THERE ARE
INTERESTS OF PARALLELISM. DR. KISSINGER HAS REFERRED TO
THIS, AND I AM ONLY SPEAKING IN REALISTIC TERMS IN TRYING
TO IDENTIFY SOME OF THE AREAS WHERE OUR INTERESTS ARE
PARALLEL...THEY SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF ENCIRCLEMENT. AND
THE EURASIAN LAND MASS IS THE CRITICAL AREA.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SUBSCRIBE TO TOTALITARIANISM
AND THEIR APPROACH TO PEOPLE WITHIN THEIR SOCIETY.

Q SENATOR, YOU SEEM TO HAVE DEVELOPED A SOMEWHAT NON-
SKEPTICAL AFFINITY FOR THE CHINESE, AND I WOULD LIKE TO

ASK YOU WHY YOU TAKE THEIR WORD AT FACE VALUE, IN CONTRAST
TO THE WAY YOU DO THE SOVIETS.

A WELL, THE CHINESE HAVE NOT BROKEN THEIR WORD WITH US.

THE LIST WITH THE RUSSIANS, STARTS WITH YALTA. THE
AGREEMENT, PER SE, WAS NOT BAD. IT WAS A GOOD AGREEMENT.
BUT THEY DIDN'T LIVE UP TO IT--AND THE NUMBER OF SUCH
"AGREEMENTS" IS LONG.

Q DOES THAT MEAN THAT YOU DON'T BELIEVE THE RUSSIANS WILL
LIVE UP TO ANY AGREEMENT THAT THEY MAKE WITH US?

A WELL I BELIEVE THAT ANY AGREEMENT OF SUBSTANCE WITH THE
RUSSIANS, SHOULD BE THE KIND OF AGREEMENT IN WHICH WE CAN,
BY NATIONAL MEANS, DETERMINE WHETHER THAT AGREEMENT IS
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BEING CARRIED OUT. AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT RELY ON THE
DOCUMENT ALONE, BUT THAT THERE SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT,
NATIONAL MEANS TO CORROBORATE WHETHER OR NOT THAT AGREE-
MENT IS BEING ADHERED TO.

Q WHAT HAVE THE CHINESE GOT TO SAY ABOUT THEIR FEELINGS
ABOUT RELATIONS, NORMAL RELATIONS, WITH THE UNITED STATES?..

A WELL, I BELIEVE THEY DID NOT RESPOND IN TERMS OF PACE,
BUT I GATHERED THE CLEAR AND DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT
TAIWAN IS AN IMPEDIMENT TO AN ACCELERATION OF VARIOUS
THINGS THAT COULD BE DONE TO BRING ABOUT A CLOSER RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN THE PRC AND THE UNITED STATES.

MY OWN VIEW IS THAT WE SHOULD MOVE FASTER.

I MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE CHINESE THAT WE KEEP OUR WORD,
THAT WE HAVE A TREATY--THAT I, PERSONALLY, AS A MATTER OF
HONOR--THAT TREATY IS TO BE ADHERED TO. BUT THAT I WOULD
HOPE, IN KEEPING WITH THE SHANGHAI DECLARATION, WE SHOULD
NOW MOVE TO HAVE ONLY A LIAISON OFFICE IN TAIPEI, AND AN
AMBASSADORSHIP IN PEKING.

Q WAS IT YOUR IMPRESSION, SENATOR, THAT THAT WOULD BE
ACCEPTABLE TO THE CHINESE, IF WE MAINTAIN A LIAISON OFFICE
WITH NATIONALIST CHINA AND W- WOULD NOT HAVE TO SEVER
RELATIONS, WE COULD AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC

RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC?

A NO, I DIDN'T PRESS THIS POINT.

Q UNDER THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EMBASSY AND THE LIAISON OFFICE, AS SUCH, WHAT SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD YOU LAY OUT--AS YOU HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED?

A WELL, I HAVE SET FORTH IN MY STATEMENT, A NUMBER OF THINGS THAT I THINK WOULD BE HELPFUL. I WANT TO SEE--ONCE THAT MOVE IS MADE--A KEY TO MAKING MOVES IN ESTABLISHING A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHINESE, IS INDEED, TAIWAN--AND THE FORMAL RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS.
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I BELIEVE THAT IF WE MAKE THE DIPLOMATIC MOVE REGARDING TAIWAN, WE CAN THEN MOVE TOWARD AN ACCELERATION OF STUDENT EXCHANGES, CULTURAL EXCHANGES, AND--I HOPE--THE SETTING UP OF NEWSPAPER BUREAUS IN CHINA. I THINK THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT, AS WE MOVE DOWN THE ROAD TO A CLOSER WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHINESE.

BUT A CONDITION PRECEDENT TO ALL OF THAT IS TAIWAN, IF I READ THEM CORRECTLY.

Q SENATOR JACKSON, HAVE YOU RECEIVED AN INDICATION FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF BETTER TERMS ON (SOVIET JEWS)? CAN YOU SEE ANY INDICATION THAT MIGHT RELAX YOUR POSITION ON THE IMMIGRATION?

A I HAVE JUST RETURNED THIS MORNING FROM CHINA. I HAVE NOT HAD A CHANCE TO TALK TO DR. KISSINGER. I AM DEALING DIRECTLY WITH HIM.

I WOULD SAY THAT THOSE WHO WENT ON THE TRIP FROM THE FOURTH ESTATE GOT A PRETTY GOOD INDICATION OF THE HARSHNESS OF THE SOVIETS IN HANDLING EVEN OUR OWN MEDIA--AND I AM BEGINNING TO WONDER WHETHER OR NOT THEY UNDERSTAND, AT ALL, WHAT THIS ISSUE IS ABOUT.

THEY HAD A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW JUST F--INTHBIK, F FREEDOM--AND TO CUT OUR OWN PRESS PEOPLE OFF--I THINK, IS INDICATIVE--MAYBE OF THEIR INSECURITY--OF NOT KNOWING HOW TO HANDLE THIS PROBLEM.

BUT THE ANSWER IS, "NO, I HAVE HAD NO NEW INDICATION." I HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE ADMINISTRATION ON THE IMMIGRATION ISSUE, THAT A CONDITION PRECEDENT TO THE SOLUTION IS THEIR HARASSMENT ISSUE--AND THAT CONTINUED RIGHT DURING THE SUMMIT MEETING.

THE NUMBERS, I BELIEVE, CAN BE WORKED OUT, BUT THE HARRASSMENT ISSUE IS THE KEY ISSUE, AND I AM READY AND WILLING TO WORK OUT A SENSIBLE, AND, I HOPE IT WILL BE AN HONORABLE ARRANGEMENT, BY WHICH SOME FREEDOM CAN BE GRANTED.

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NOW WE CAN MAKE A BEGINNING TOWARD A FREER FLOW OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS. THIS, TO ME, IS CRITICAL; IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE, OR SAY "LAY A FOUNDATION FOR A HUMAN DETENTE."

Q IF YOU CAN'T TRUST THEIR WORDS (SOVIETS), AND THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO PUT IT IN WRITING, HOW DO YOU THINK YOU WILL SOLVE THAT?

A WELL, THERE IS A WAY TO TAKE CARE OF THAT.

CONGRESS IS CARRYING OUT SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S INJUNCTION I.E. REASSERTING MORE AND MORE OF ITS LEGISLATIVE POWER-- ALTHOUGH HE DOESN'T AGREE WITH THE WAY THAT IT'S BEING ASSERTED.

BUT WE CAN RETAIN THE AUTHORITY SO THAT WE COULD CUT OFF MFN IN AN APPROPRIATE AGREEMENT, IN THE EVENT THEY FAIL TO DO IT. THIS IS WHAT I'M TALKING ABOUT AS SAFEGUARD AND THE NATIONAL MEANS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM.

BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT THEY WOULD SHOW SOME "GIVE" HERE, AND I THINK VERY CLEARLY, THAT IS IN ORDER--AND I AM WILLING TO SHOW SOME "GIVE", AND HAVE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING BY STATING THAT THE NUMBER IS NOT INFLEXIBLE.

Q SENATOR, ONE POINT ON THAT QUESTION, WHICH WAS FOR YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO MOSCOW, IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR WARNING AHEAD OF TIME THAT HE SHOULDN'T GO?

A WELL, THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE VERY LIMITED. IT DIDN'T REQUIRE THE PRESENCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. I THINK THAT IS CLEAR.

THE SO-CALLED "THRESHHOLD TEST BAN TREATY" HAS A LOT OF THINGS TO BE STRAIGHTENED OUT. THE WHOLE QUESTION OF EXCHANGE OF GEOLOGICAL DATA TO DETERMINE HOW TO GOING TO FIGURE OUT THE THRESHHOLD ON NUCLEAR TESTS IS YET TO BE RESOLVED. I THINK THIS WAS A GOOD MOVE. I THINK I SPEAK POSITIVELY IN SAYING THAT SOME REAL PROGRESS WAS MADE ON THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE. BUT IT IS NOT RESOLVED YET,

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AND WE WILL HAVE TO WORK OUT THE QUESTION OF THE PEACEFUL APPLICATIONS OF ATOMIC ENERGY. AND HERE INSPECTION SHOULD BE REQUIRED, INCLUDING SOIL SAMPLES, BECAUSE, THANKS TO MODERN SCIENCE, WE CAN TELL WHETHER A WEAPON HAS BEEN DETONATED FOR PEACEFUL USES OR WHETHER IT IS IN FACT A WEAPON THAT HAS BEEN DETONATED.

HERE AGAIN INVOLVES THE NEED FOR ON-SIGHT INSPECTION IN CONNECTION WITH THOSE TESTS. SO, THE TTB PROPOSITION HAS A NUMBER OF HURDLES TO OVERCOME AND ' WILL INVOLVE, I THINK THE NEED FOR CERTAIN SAFEGUARDS, BUT I COMMEND THE PRESIDENT FOR BEING ABLE TO ACHIEVE THAT MUCH. BUT MY APPROACH ON THE FULL QUESTION OF ARMS CONTROL IS TO DEAL WITH THE OVERALL PROBLEM AND NOT THE PIECEMEAL APPROACH THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS MAKING. AND THAT IS NO WAY TO SOLVE IT.

YOU KNOW, WHAT IT REALLY REMINDS ME IS SALAMI TACTICS IN REVERSE. THE RUSSIAN APPROACH IS TO -ICE A PIECE HERE AND SLICE A PIECE THERE. AND YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING.

THEY PULLED THE MOST CLEVER THING IN THE WORLD ON THAT INTERIM AGREEMENT. AND FOR TWO LONG MONTHS, I ARGUED ON THE FLOOR OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE. THE ADMINISTRATION SAID, "THIS IS JUST AN INTERIM AGREEMENT." I SAID, "THE RUSSIANS ARE GOING TO SAY "THIS IS THE PERMANENT BASIS UPON WHICH WE ARE GOING TO INSIST SALT II MUST BE PREDICATED." AND THAT IS EXACTLY THEIR POSITION, PLUS THEY WANT EVEN MORE THAN THAT.

MY APPROACH AS CONTRASTED WITH THE ADMINISTRATION IS THIS. I WOULD GO TO THE WORLD AND TELL THE WORLD, "LOOK, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WANTS DISARMAMENT. WE PROPOSE A REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC LAND-BASED, SEA-BASED AND BOMBER FORCE. SO THAT BILLIONS CAN BE SAVED FOR THE PURPOSE OF HELPING PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN THE UNITED STATES. AND ABOVE ALL ELSE, WHEN THIS ROAD IS TRAVELLED, THE WORLD WILL THEN KNOW THAT WE ARE MOVING TOWARDS A MORE PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT, THAT TENSIONS WILL BE LESSENED.

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A LET ME SAY THAT I THINK THAT OBVIOUSLY CHINA FACES A SERIOUS SUCCESSION PROBLEM. MAO IS 80 - 81. HE IS NOT IN THE BEST OF HEALTH. CHOU EN-LAI, 76. HE IS MENTALLY ALERT, EXTREMELY SHARP, QUICK, AN AMAZING GEM OF THE WORLD SCENE. HE WAS TOTALLY FAMILIAR WITH MY 15

HOURS OF TALKS THAT I HAD WITH HIS KEY PEOPLE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AREA, INCLUDING VICE PREMIER DONG AND THE VICE

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS--A SORT OF A DR. KISSINGER OF THEIR FOREIGN SETUP--A MR. CHOU. AND I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH HIS GRASP OF THINGS.

HE IS A SICK MAN. I DON'T KNOW THE EXTENT OF HIS ILLNESS. MENTALLY, HE IS STRONG, VIGOROUS, IN COMPLETE COMMAND OF THE SITUATION. BUT I THINK MY APPEARANCE WITH HIM AT LEAST DISPELLED A RUMOR THAT HE WAS AWSENT FROM THE VARIOUS MEETINGS DUE TO A DIPLOMATIC ILLNESS--AS THE EXPRESSION GOES.

HE HAS BEEN SICK, AND FOR HOW LONG, I DO NOT KNOW.

Q SENATOR, IS THERE ANY LIKELIHOOD OF ANY RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

A I JUST DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY VIABLE FACTION THAT WOULD FAVOR A RENEWAL OF THE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

Q WAS IT YOUR IMPRESSION ON TAIWAN THAT PRESIDENT NIXON OR SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD MADE ANY COMMITMENTS TO THE CHINESE, SECRET OR OTHERWISE, TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF OUR REPUTATION ON TAIWAN; THAT SINCE THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE OF 1972 THAT THE CHINESE ARE IN ANY WAY DISAPPOINTED ABOUT OR UPSET ABOUT IT NOT BEING FULFILLED?

A IF THERE ARE SUCH AGREEMENTS, I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THEM. THE CHINESE NEVER RAISED ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT SUCH POSSIBLE SECRET AGREEMENT. AND I HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT THERE ARE NO SECRET AGREEMENTS OTHER THAN CERTAIN DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BUT DO NOT INVOLVE THE QUESTION OF TERRITORY, OR THE QUESTION OF REMOVAL OF ARMS,
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THAT SORT OF THING. SISCO

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